could lead to a lull in a sector of a front but could by no means bring a general, just, and durable peace. Once I tried to elaborate this argument in the full session of the Soviet. During a debate on war and peace policy in the plenary session I raised the question of the political implications of the fraternization campaign and said, addressing myself to the Communist leaders, "Your fraternization campaign serves only to weaken our army so that Russia would stand defenseless before Germany and be compelled to sign a separate peace."

I was interrupted by violent protests, Zinoviev leading the demonstration. Each time I tried to resume the speech the Bolsheviks drowned my voice in cries of "Liar!" and "Slanderer!" Such men as Zinoviev knew, of course, that I was interpreting their policy correctly, but the indignation of some of the Bolshevist soldiers may have been sincere.

UNREST IN KRONSTADT

In his strategy for seizing power, Lenin did not think of a showdown with the Provisional Government. He had the deepest contempt for the men in the Marinsky Palace and was confident they would disappear from political life the moment the Petrograd Soviet ceased to support them. His aim was to get control over the Soviets—first in Petrograd; next, in all other cities. If occasionally he condescended to attack and abuse the government, he did it only to discredit and vilify the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet for its association with this "headquarters of counterrevolution." He picked Kronstadt for the first experiment in seizing power locally through a Soviet and for a showdown of force with the Executive Committee of Petrograd.

Kronstadt, the base of the Baltic fleet, is located on an island, Kotlin, in the mouth of the Neva. Together with coastal forts, Red Hill to the south and Ino (in Finland) to the east, it formed the defense of the capital from the sea. Its population consisted mainly of sailors, who had been completely isolated from civilians under the Tsarist regime. Most of them were inarticulate, embittered men, held to obedience by ruthless discipline. The worst bloodshed in the March revolution had occurred in Kronstadt. Taking vengeance against their oppressors, the sailors killed the commander of the Baltic fleet and many officers and threw others into the dungeons in which before the revolution enlisted men had been kept for insubordination and misconduct.

The Commissar of the first Provisional Government sent to Kronstadt reported deplorable conditions in the fortress prisons but could